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ABSTRACT

A focal point of recent mass communication research has been the influence on public accessibility to political information, the "agenda setting" function of the media. This function was tested during the Kentucky gubernatorial election and the Lexington, Kentucky, mayoral election in November 1971. The specific hypothesis postulated that public identification of important issues in the campaigns would reflect the amount of media coverage devoted to these issues and that this effect would be strongest for those people with the least education and least interest in the campaign. Respondents selected at random from the Lexington telephone directory were asked what they believed were the major issues of the campaigns. Resulting data supplied as much evidence that the media reflect public concern as that the public is influenced by media coverage. Correlations between educational levels or campaign interest and media coverage of issues could not be established. (CH)

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MEDIA AGENDA-SETTING IN A STATE CAMPAIGN

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MEDIA AGENDA-SETTING IN A STATE CAMPAIGN

Studying the effects of the mass media in shaping public opinion during an election campaign has been a long but inconclusive concern of mass communication research. Much of this concern has concentrated on studying the influence of the media on voting decisions, and that is where one of the arguments over media effects has centered. In recent years, however, researchers have been investigating the effects of the media, not in influencing voting decisions, but in influencing the political information the public has.

This area now goes under the general rubric of the "agenda-setting" function of the media. Cohen (1963) has succinctly summarized this effect: "(The media) may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about."

It should be noted, however, that a distinction is here being made between media effects on voting choices, and the public's awareness of campaign issues. It is the latter that is of concern in the present study. Secondly, agenda-setting does not imply that the media are solely responsible for creating public awareness and concern for issues. In fact, the media may as much reflect public concern for issues as influence public concern for certain issues. In order to determine the extent to which the media set the agenda for the public (rather than reflect the issues of the public), one must take account of each over time.[1]

In a recent test of the agenda-setting hypothesis McCombs and Shaw (1972) found a strong correlation between the amount of coverage the media devoted to an issue during a three-week period and what voters surveyed during that period said were the important issues. Looking at only uncommitted voters, they concluded that the media do indeed shape the salience of issues in a campaign.

McCombs and Shaw point out that in presidential elections there are few alternative sources of information to the mass media. Few people have the opportunity to learn a candidate's positions at first hand.

This assumption cannot necessarily be made in state and local elections, however. In this situation, more voters can, if they wish, hear candidates speak in person and can confront office-seekers in small groups rather than in the huge public rallies of presidential politics. For this reason, one might expect the media would be less influential in shaping public judgments about campaign issues locally than in national elections.

On the other hand, Pool (1963) suggested that the U. S. media is more likely to be influential in local, rather than in national elections:

> While a national campaign may have focused (a voter's) intense interest and deep conviction in the top office, he is often without any such internal guidance on the less important office. He has neither the time nor energy to inform himself of all of them. So how he votes on these minor offices is apt to be affected by any information that comes his way about the candidates for them. It is in this situation of low intensity of attention and interest that the endorsement of a candidate by a newspaper is capable of influencing a number of votes.

Pool adds that paradoxically, the minor races (where the media might be more influential) are the ones usually slighted in media coverage.

Jewell and Cunningham (1968) in their study of Kentucky politics, noted that political behavior and attitudes in regard to state elections are much more stable than in presidential campaigns in that state. This suggests again that agenda-setting would be less likely to occur in state campaigns than in presidential elections.

This study was aimed at investigating the agenda-setting hypothesis in the context of a state and a city election in Lexington, Kentucky. The context was the Kentucky governor's election and the Lexington mayoral election in November, 1971.[2]

Several factors would seem to be crucial in assessing the agenda-setting function on public opinion. First, time needs to be taken into account. One needs to be sure that the direction of influence is from the media to the public and not from the public to the media. Furthermore, not much is known about the "time-lag" of influence. Lang and Lang (1966), for example, suggest only that media effects are "long-range" and more apt to occur in the "quiescent" time between campaigns rather than during campaigns.

It may be that any media influence will not be easily felt during the relatively short period of the campaign itself.

Little is known about hte influence over time. We generally speak in vague terms like "long range" or "short range" or "current." We cannot specify much about what time lag exists between media coverage and public concern or awareness of issues, if indeed such a causal relationship exists.

> Since the pioneering efforts of Berelson and Lazarsfeld, few studies have examined voter responses to the flow of current political information. For the most part only the reinforcing and activating effects of the electorate's surveillance behavior have been emphasized, perhaps because more dramatic impacts are so imperceptible and long term. In any event, our understanding of the precise impact of the mass media is only fragmentary and based on dated information. (Dryer, 1972-72)

Although voting choices tend to be relatively stable, some voters at some times are influenced by what Sellers (1965) termed the "current flow of information." He argued that media coverage of a campaign will be most influential for "those voters with little interest and no strong partisanship." Media coverage, he wrote, "activates an increased proportion of those voters who have slight interest in information about politics, who are only slightly if at all identified with any party, who are consequently extremely susceptible to the short-term forces emphasized inthe flow of current information."

On the other hand, Converse (1966) formulated the hypothesis that while information flow may cause low interest voters to change partisan attitudes

between elections, these same low interest people may show more stable partisan attitudes during the short term of an election campaign, because they pay little attention to media coverage and will not be aware of immediate analysis.

However, in an analysis of two decades of presidential election survey data, Dryer (1971) found that the voters who pay the least attention to media campaign coverage do tend to be the least stable in voting preference, both between elections and during the campaign itself. Thus it would seem that agenda-setting is less likely to take place in state and local elections than in presidential elections, but that the effect will be strongest among those with less interest.

Another factor that would seem to make a difference is education. Chaffee (1971) wrote that re-analysis of his data on political information gain among teenagers (Chaffee, Ward and Tipton, 1970) indicates that mass media use does produce subsequent gains in knowledge at the same time that prior knowledge leads to greater media use. The effect is to increase the distance between people of high and low knowledge. Tichener, Donohue and Olien (1970) supported this hypothesis. They argued that people with higher education tend to acquire information at a faster rate, thus increasing the "knowledge gap." McCombs and Shaw also noted that the better educated and the more interested are more likely to seek information, but that these same people are the least likely to change their political beliefs.

These studies seem to suggest that media coverage of changing issues in a campaign will be noted first by those highly educated, highly interested people, but that these people are not as apt to change their minds about important issues as much as the less educated, less interested voters.

Specifically, this study was designed to test the hypothesis that the public's identification of important issues in the campaigns would reflect the

amount of media coverage devoted to these issues, and that this relationship would be strongest for those people with the least education and interest in the campaign.

Methodology

To investigate the agenda-setting hypothesis, this study asked respondents at three different times during the campaign to define what they felt were the major issues facing voters in the two campaigns.[3] Respondents were interviewed in September just after the city primary, in the middle of October, and again just after the general election in November. Following the original McCombs and Shaw design (1969), new respondents were added at each phase to alleviate some of the methodological problems associated with panel surveys.[4] Interviewing was done on weekends by telephone, with respondents randomly selected from the Lexington area telephone directory.

In the analysis, we identify six different respondent groups. Group One is the 303 respondents interviewed in September. Group Two is 200 of these people interviewed again in October. Group Four is 139 of these people interviewed for a third time in November. Group Three is 52 respondents interviewed for the first time in October; Group Five is 42 of these people interviewed again in November. Group Six is 80 people interviewed for the first time in November.

At the same time, the actual content of media coverage of the mayoral and gubernatorial campaigns from Sept. 18, the date of the city primary, through Nov. 2, the date of the general election, was also coded. Stories were included from three newspapers--the Louisville Courier-Journal, the morning Lexington Herald, and the evening Lexington Leader.[5] The 6 p. m. and 11 p. m. news show content of two of the three Lexington television stations and the hourly local broadcasts of two of the three Lexington Am radio stations were also included. (One of the local radio stations had so little campaign coverage it was dropped from the study; one of the local TV stations refused to participate.) A research assistant

went to the station studios weekly and coded the content from the original copy for the broadcasts.

McCombs and Shaw used a major and minor item distinction in coding media content. This study used a "major issue" and "other" issue code. A major issue was defined as the issue that constituted the lead and major portion of a news story; other issues were those also mentioned in that story.[6]

Nine issue categories were formulated for analyzing both respondent and media mention of issues. Percentages of the frequency of mention were then computed for each of the six respondent groups and each of the seven media sources. Three media indices were also formed, one for the three newspapers, one for the two television stations, and one for the two radio stations. Pearson r correlations were then calculated between and among the various respondent groups and media sources. In computing these correlations, each issue was treated as an "observation" and the frequency of mention of each issue as the "score." Finally, cross-lagged correlation technique is utilized in order to indicate directionality (Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Pelz and Andrews, 1964; Chaffee, 1972; Becker, 1973).

In its simplest form, variables are ordered according to time so that several correlation coefficients can be compared. Correlations are computed for between variables one and two at both time one and time two ($r X_1 Y_1$ and $r X_2 Y_2$ -- see figure one) Then the cross lagged correlations are computed ($r X_1 Y_2$ and $r X_2 Y_1$). These in turn are compared to a baseline statistic based upon the other correlations in the figure. If one (or both) of the diagonal coefficients exceed the baseline, one assumes it is evidence of some causal relationship.

The technique makes stringest assumptions about the nature of the data, including simultaneity of measurement and the equivalence of time lags, but it is also a useful way of laying out time-ordered variables even when the data

assumptions are not met. In the present study, we are assuming that the frequency of mention of issues in the media (from Sept. 18 - Oct. 15) is simultaneous with the time two point of the respondent interview (the weekend of October 15); and that the media content from Oct. 16 through the rest of the campaign is simultaneous with time three of the respondent survey (the weekend following election day).

The first period for media content is one month; the second is a little over two weeks.

Chaffee (1973) noted that "the optimal time-lag is no perfunctory matter." If too short, the relationship may not have had time to be effective; if too long, the effect may have dissipated. However, there is not clear cut answer about what time period to use in election studies.

In laying out the cross-lags, we decided to regard the correlations between media content for Time One (Sept. 18-Oct.15) and Time Two (Oct. 16-Nov.2) and Groups Two and Four as one cross-lagged design. The correlations between the same media content and Groups Three and Five are treated as replications.

Results

The City Election: There was almost no coverage of the mayoral campaign in the Lexington media. The Lexington Herald and Leader combined ran only 16 stories about this race. Of these nine were concerned with a court suit on the part of the incumbent defeated in the September primary that charged vote fraud. Two more concerned denials on the part of Candidate Sykes that he had made a "deal" not to campaign in exchange for a promise to be named city manager. Therefore, analysis of the city campaign was dropped.

Description of the sample: Table 1 presents a breakdown of the six groups by various demographic variables compared to the 1970 census for the Lexington area.

Respondents were asked in open-ended questions to name the two or three most important issues facing voters in the governor's campaign. Results in terms of

frequency of mention are presented in Table 2. At all three interview times, "taxes" was the most often mentioned issue. Issues related to "law and order," "special interests" (e. g., farmers, labor, the elderly, etc.) and "general state" (mostly various proposals to reorganize the state government) were seldom cited. Most of the differences between the three different interview points occurred with relatively minor changes in position of issues related to "ecology," "education," and "economy." Two other issue categories were included mainly to code media content rather than for respondent replies. These are issues stemming from the "campaign" (e. g. mudslinging attacks or sources of campaign funds) and "local issues" (issues relating to one specific community.)

The correlations between frequency of mention of issues by the six groups are presented in Table 3. The correlations for the same respondents at the three interview points (Groups 1, 2 and 4 and Groups 3 and 5), and the correlations between the new and repeat respondents are all very high. It should be noted that the repeat groups are not precisely the same people, since replies from those first respondents who later dropped out of the study are included in the results. Table 4 presents the correlations when the "campaign" and "local issues" items are dropped. Later analysis comparing media coverage with frequency of mention by respondents does not include these two categories. Many of the media items coded as campaign units are not issues. Many of the local items dealt with issues oriented to communities other than Lexington and could not be expected to be a major issue for Lexington area residents. The correlations when these items are dropped are not quite as strong, but they are still positive and statistically significant.

Respondents were not pushed to answer the open-ended questions, and a substantial number of voters in each group either could not or would not mention

any issue as being important in the campaign. The percentage of respondents who did not mention at least one issue declines substantially over time: 54% in Group One; 38% and 25% in Groups Two and Three; and 29%, 31% and 35% in Groups Four, Five and Six.

Media Coverage of the Campaign: Table 4 presents the percentages of media space given to the nine categories. Like McCombs and Shaw's analysis of the 1968 presidential campaign, media coverage of the Kentucky governor's election was concerned mainly with the campaign itself, and not with issues. Almost half of the total media coverage was of this type. This category included such things as announcements of the candidates' appearances and descriptions of their campaign styles, general attacks on opponents that were not issue oriented, and in the case of third party candidate Chandler, speculation on the effect of his vote.

"Taxes" constituted the major issue discussed in the media, followed by "special interest," economic issues, law and order, local issues, education, ecology, and general state issues.

Table 5 presents the correlations between the various media, based on the number of issue items mentioned in stories about the gubernatorial race. When all nine categories are included, the correlations are extremely high, both for major items and total items. There is high consensus within the various media channels as to what the "news" of the campaign is. This consensus is also very stable between the two time periods for all campaign coverage.

When the campaign and local issue categories are dropped, the media consensus lessens. The coefficients are generally stronger during the closing period of the campaign than for the content from Sept. 18 through Oct. 15.

The coefficients suggest that these media do not present as consistent a view of issues in the state campaign as McCombs and Shaw found for the 1968 presidential election coverage. There are clear print-broadcast differences,

indicating that the newspapers generally were emphasizing one set of issues and radio and television another. Referring back to Table 4 it can be seen that "taxes" was a much more significant issue for the newspapers than for radio and television. Law and order was also a much more important issue for the broadcast media and the Lexington Leader than for the Lexington-Herald and the Louisville Courier-Journal. The Louisville paper, since it circulates state-wide, also devoted much more coverage to local issues than did any of the other media.

Correlations between media coverage and issues cited by the public. For the remainder of the analysis, only the seven issues (excluding "campaign" and "local issues" categories) are used.

To test the agenda-setting hypothesis, we first compared correlations between media coverage for different time periods with the frequency of mention by the various panel groups. Table 7 presents the correlations using total media items for the entire six-weeks period.

Different relationships show up when the specific time period of media coverage is considered. In separating the media content into two time periods, we labeled Media One as the four-week period from Sept. 18 through Oct. 15. Media Two is the two-week period from Oct. 15 through election day. Figures 2 and 3 present the cross-lags for newspapers and television.

Because of its low correlations, as well as its infrequency of mention as a primary news source by respondents, no further analysis of radio is included.

Correlations for newspaper coverage and the public (Figure 2) for the most part exceed the critical values for statistical significance levels. However, no consistent pattern emerges. In terms of cross-lag logic, both the diagonals for Groups Two and Four exceed the baseline statistic cited by Chaffee (1972), so there is no choice between hypotheses that the public frequency of mention

reflects media coverage, or vice versa, that the media frequency reflects public concern.

It can be concluded that there is a relationship between the frequency of mention of issues by newspapers and the frequency of mention by the public. However, given the failure of this data to meet the strict assumptions of cross-lag analysis, and the failure to "replicate" between the different groups of respondents, there is no consistent evidence that the media is serving a causal agenda-setting function.

Figure 3 indicates that television content during the early part of the campaign contributes to the negative correlations found between television frequency and respondent frequency. The negative correlation in issue ocverage over the two time periods makes cross-lag interpretations difficult.

Interviews with some of the groups asked respondents to name the medium from which they had gotten most of their information about the campaign so far. Newspapers were named by 47%; television by 36% and radio by 6%.

Partitioning on this question permits separate cross-lag comparisons for those who named newspapers and those who named television (Figures 4 and 5). Results are similar to the non-partitioned sample. Of those respondents naming television, (Fig. 4) the correlations with television coverage for the first part of the campaign period are still negative (although less so than for the non-partitioned sample). The Time Two correlations are postive, and stronger than results for the non-partititioned sample, but do not reach statistically significant levels. Results for those who named newspapers are very similar to the non-partitioned results. (Figure 5). Correlations between those naming television as a primary news source and newspaper coverage were even stronger than those naming newspapers with newspaper coverage. (Results not shown.)

Respondents were partitioned on two other variables: degree of interest and education. Interest was tapped by a question that asked respondents "Generally, how interested would you say you, yourself, are in the current state elections--very interested, pretty interested, not too interested or not at all?" The "not at all" and "not too" categories were collapsed into a "low interest" group. Cross-lags for the three interest groups with newspaper coverage are presented in Figures 6, 7 and 8.

The partitioned results tend to suggest that, as expected, the higher the interest, the less the change in salience of issues over time; at least the correlations over time are somewhat stronger for the high interest respondents.

The cross-lags with media coverage for the High and Medium interest groups are similar to results for the entire sample. Again, there seems to be a relationship between media coverage and frequency of mention of issues, but no marked evidence that the direction is media to public rather than public to media.

The low interest group (Figure 8) is the most interesting. We had expected this group to show the strongest "short range" relationship to media coverage. Yet the synchronous correlations are the weakest here for any of the three interest subsets. Only one coefficient (papers Time Two with Group Four) reaches statistical significance levels (r+ .748, p .05). And the sets of diagonal comparisons seem to indicate the least evidence of the three groups in support of a media agenda-setting hypothesis.

Respondents were also partitioned into two educational levels: Those with a high school education (Fig. 9) and those with some formal schooling beyond high school (Fig. 10).

The correlations are not markedly different for the two groups, although two of the media/public coefficients that are statistically significant for the college respondent group are not for the high school respondents. Again, most of

the cross-lag coefficients exceed the baseline statistic. The only exception is the College Groups 3 and 5 where the Newspaper One to Group Five diagonal r exceeds the baseline, the public to media does not. Again, while there is evidence of a relationship between media frequency and frequency of public mention, there is no consistent support for the idea that the public reflects the media, rather than that the media reflects the public's agenda.

Conclusions

Detecting strong empirical evidence for media effects is a difficult business and perhaps we have been overly-pessimistic about the extent to which our data would support a causal media agenda-setting hypothesis. The high stability of the respondents' definitions of what were the main issues involved in the governor's campaign, the relative lack of consensus among the media about the issues, and the instability of media coverage between our two time periods contribute to the difficulty.

We can conclude that there is a relationship between media coverage and public frequency of mention in a state campaign. This supports evidence that the media serve such a function in more frequently-studies presidential campaigns. The fact that total media coverage throughout the campaign correlates stronger with public mention of issues than coverage for specific time periods does not strngthen arguments that voters are respoding to a 'current flow of information.

Adding measurement over time also indicates that showing a positive relationship between media coverage and public frequency is not in itself sufficient to argue for a media agenda-setting hypothesis. Our data provide as much evidence that the media reflects public concern as that public reflects media coverage. Nor was evidence found for expectations about the effect of media coverage on low interest or less educated groups.

Our selection of Sept. 16 as a starting data for monitoring media coverage is arbitrary as far as the governor's campaign is concerned, altnough it made

sense for mayor's race. The similarity between the public's issues in September and those mentioned at later time points indicates that the issues had already been set at the time we began monitoring.

The lack of a perfect correlation between different media sources may, as McCombs and Shaw suggest, reflect an imperfect "pseudo-environment" for the campaign. It would also weaken arguments that a third force, say, the candidates themselves, were actually setting the issue agenda. If this were the case, then the media would tend to show more consensus than was found. In part, the lack of consensus could reflect, again as McCombs and Shaw suggest, a political point of view on the part of the media sources, perhaps bias. But the fact that the Lexington Herald and the Leader correlated as positively as they did, even when editorials are included, weakens that line of argument. The fact that the Courier-Journal correlates stronger with the Herald, which endorsed opposing candidates for governor, than with the Leader, suggests that it is something other than political point of view that leads to similarities in coverage. It could be sender news judgments, but a more likely argument is common deadlines, since they are both morning papers

We find the differences between newspapers, television and radio interesting, but think a conclusion that our data suggest an agenda-setting function only for newspapers too hasty. The television station with the highest percentage of the Lexington audience refused to participate in the study, and results may have been very different if that station had been included. Still, the data would seem to suggest that recent speculation about the great influence of television news on election campaigns may be unwarranted. The fact that those respondents who named television as their primary news source still showed a much stronger relationship to newspaper coverage than to television coverage cannot be discarded lightly. This suggests that to the extent that there is agenda-setting, it is by medium rather than media.

Footnotes

1. There is also the related issue of whether or not candidates reflect (or are influenced by) both the media's and the public's interpretation of issues. Such a determination would involve a content analysis of the candidates' speeches again over time, and was beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, it can be argued that most voters determine candidate positions via the mass media.

2. In the gubernatorial election, Lt. Gov. Wendell Ford, a Democrat,was running against Republican Tom Emberton. Also, former governor A. B. Chandler was running on his newly-formed Commonwealth Party ticket and William Smith was running as the Independent Party candidate.

In the Lexington mayor's race, Foster Pettit was running against Harry Sykes, the first black candidate to seek the office. Both had survived a run-off in September that saw a controversial former councilman defeated. The mayoral election is non-partisan. While other studies have indicated that voters do identify party slates in such elections, in this case both candidates were registered Democrats.

3. Respondents specifically were asked: "Now, what do you think are the two or three major issues facing the state in the gubernatorial election?" Earlier they had been asked a battery of media use questions, questions about their political discussions with friends and family, their political affiliation, registration, and interest in the two campaigns.

4. A forthcoming paper is concerned with methodological implications, specifically the problems of sensitization and attrition in panel designs.

5. The two Lexington papers publish joint editions on Saturday and Sunday, although the Saturday editions have separate editorial pages. They publish some joint sections

on Thursdays. In some of the analysis, a newspaper index is used that includes these joint editions. The Saturday editorial pages are included in the separate Herald and Leader measures.

6. Editorials as well as news stories are included. The Lexington Herald endorsed the Democratic candidates for governor and lt. governor; the Lexington Leader endorsed both Republican candidates. The Courier-Journal endorsed the Republican candidate for governor and the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor.

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TABLE I

Some Demographic Characteristics of the sample

Variable	September	October		November			Population
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5	Group 6	
	(N=303)	(N=200)	(N=52)	(N=139)	(N=42)	(N=80)	
Sex							
Male	44%	45.5%	54%	42%	57%	66%	48%
Female	56	55.5	46	58	43	34	52
Age							
Over 71	14%		23%			16%	8%
61-70	12		13			26	9
51-60	29		31			28	14
41-50	24		23			14	17
31-40	12		8			5	18
22-30	6		2			4	21
18-21	3		0			6	12
Voted for				(N=75)	(N=26)	(N=47)	
Emberton				48	65	57	46%
Ford				45	27	24	37
Chandler				7	4	20	16
Smith				0	4	0	1

TABLE 2

Percentages of frequency of issues mentioned by respondents

	September	October		November		
	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5	Group 6
Campaign	6%	10%	9%	9%	6%	11%
Taxes	37	38	37	49	35	40
Special Interests	4	5	6	4	10	2
Economy	7	8	12	9	17	11
Law and Order	3	4	0	1	0	0
Local Issues	3	2	1	1	4	7
Education	17	11	20	12	11	13
Ecology	14	15	9	9	11	13
General State Issues	7	8	5	6	6	7
Total number of issues mentioned	260	209	65	181	52	85

TABLE 3

Correlations of total frequency of mention of issues by the six respondent groups

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5	Group 6
			9 Categories			
Group 1		966	952	959	891	888
Group 2	972		905	983	895	896
Group 3	954	895		940	935	921
Group 4	964	981	936		930	920
Group 5	876	883	936	933		956
Group 6	883	885	911	913		
			7 categories			

TABLE 4

Percentages of media coverage of issues

	Journal	Herald	Leader	Channel 18	Channel 62	WLAP	WVLK	Papers	Television	Radio	Media
Campaign	36%	51%	50%	63%	50%	44%	59%	43%	58%	48%	47%
Taxes	15	16	9	4	8	11	3	14	5	9	11
Special Interests	10	6	6	9	6	10	13	8	8	11	9
Economy	5	5	6	6	8	10	3	5	7	8	6
Law and Order	4	2	7	6	11	8	8	7	8	8	6
Local Issues	11	2	6	2	1	5	0	7	2	2	5
Education	7	4	6	6	1	4	8	6	4	5	5
Ecology	7	5	5	3	8	5	5	6	5	5	5
General State Issues	5	8	5	1	8	1	1	6	3	0	4
Total number of issues mentioned	250	118	123	109	66	192	64	509	175	256	940

TABLE 5

Correlations of total frequency of mention of issues between media sources

	Journal	Herald	Leader	18	62	WLAP	WVLK	Papers	TV	Radio
Journal		964	954	928	898	947	913	989	923	944
Herald	825		973	946	953	952	930	989	953	953
Leader	746	640		991	980	981	977	984	993	987
Channel 18	077	-394	289		975	980	993	962	998	992
Channel 62	-166	010	170	-114		965	964	948	988	973
WLAP	549	286	832	636	315		963	970	980	996
WVLK	095	-443	017	822	-259	284		947	989	983
Papers	980	911	789	-043	-104	528	-081		963	971
TV	-021	-350	354	840	444	746	600	-095		991
Radio	509	122	735	797	201	960	540	440	829	

9 issues

7 issues

TABLE 6

Correlations between frequency of mention of items before Oct. 15 and after Oct. 15

	All Campaign Coverage		Seven Issues only	
	Major Items	Total Items	Major Items	Total Items
Courier-Journal	.972	.867	.646	.434
Herald	.900	.859	-.433	.377
Leader	.965	.897	-.029	-.683
Channel 18	.960	.979	-.120	.212
Channel 62	.633	.648	.119	-.269
WLAP	.963	.967	.528	.647
WVLK	.948	.915	.060	-.172
Papers	.961	.901	.088	.320
TV	.976	.979	.391	-.188
Radio	.972	.970	.523	.475

TABLE 7

Correlations between media frequency during 6 weeks and frequency of mention by the public for seven issues

	Journal	Herald	Leader	18	62	WLAP	WVLK	Papers	TV	Radio
Group 1	766	825	638	-363	-199	228	-380	830	-436	090
Group 2	799	880	694	-377	014	331	-418	868	-332	169
Group 3	781	785	699	-165	-355	334	-285	837	-343	211
Group 4	831	904	782	-272	-040	413	-377	908	-267	253
Group 5	816	849	769	-104	-149	523	-345	882	-175	359
Group 6	650	804	667	-294	-079	380	-563	754	-308	170

FIGURE 1

Basic Measures for Cross-Lagged Analysis

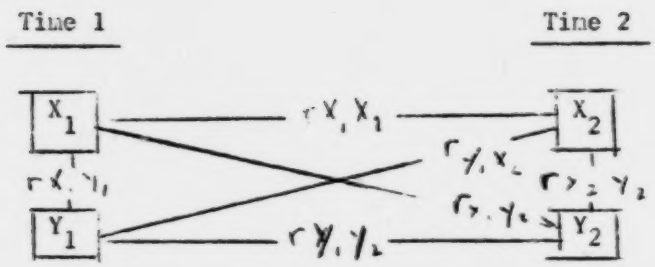

FIGURE 2

Correlations between newspaper coverage and respondent groups

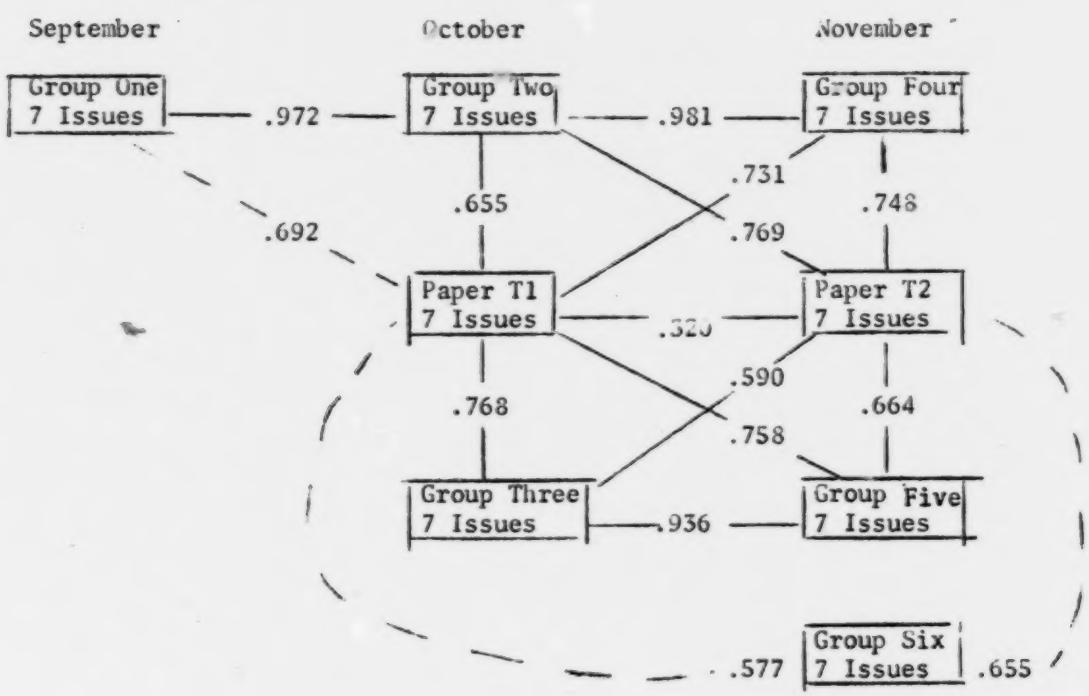

FIGURE 3

Correlations between television coverage and respondent groups

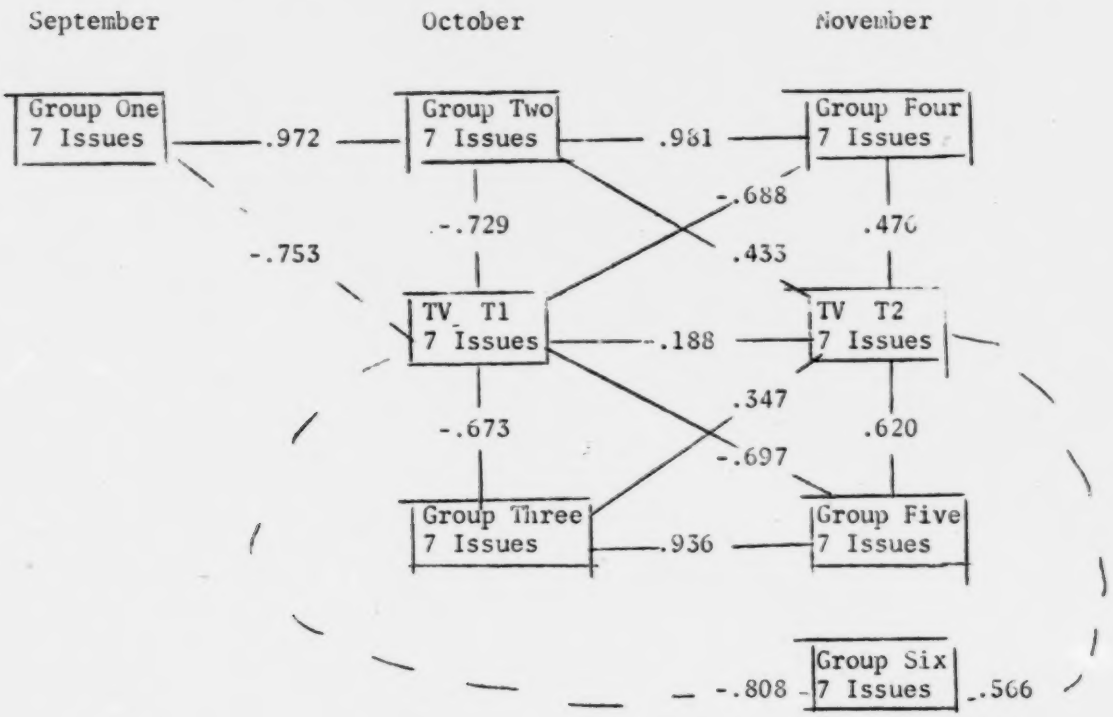

FIGURE 4

Correlations between television coverage and respondents naming television as their primary news source

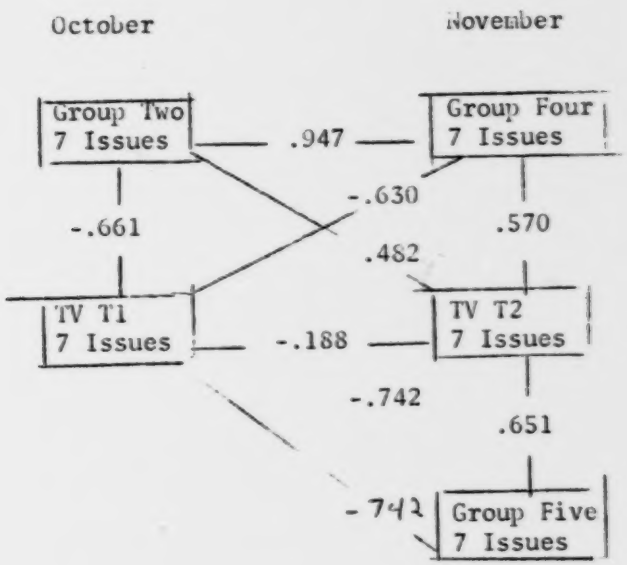

FIGURE 5

Correlations between newspaper coverage and respondents naming newspapers as their primary news source

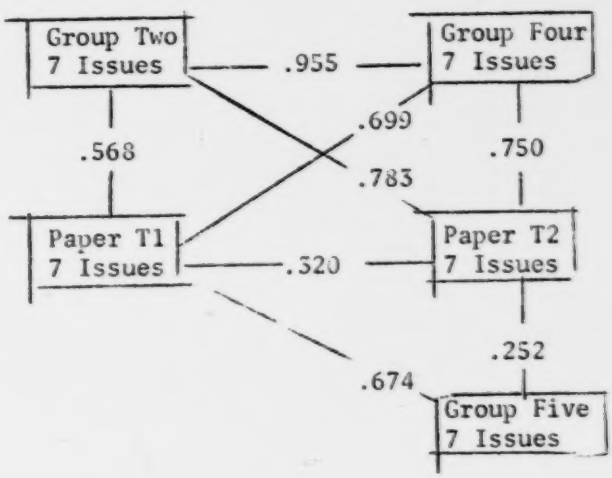

FIGURE 6

Correlations between newspaper coverage and "very interested respondents

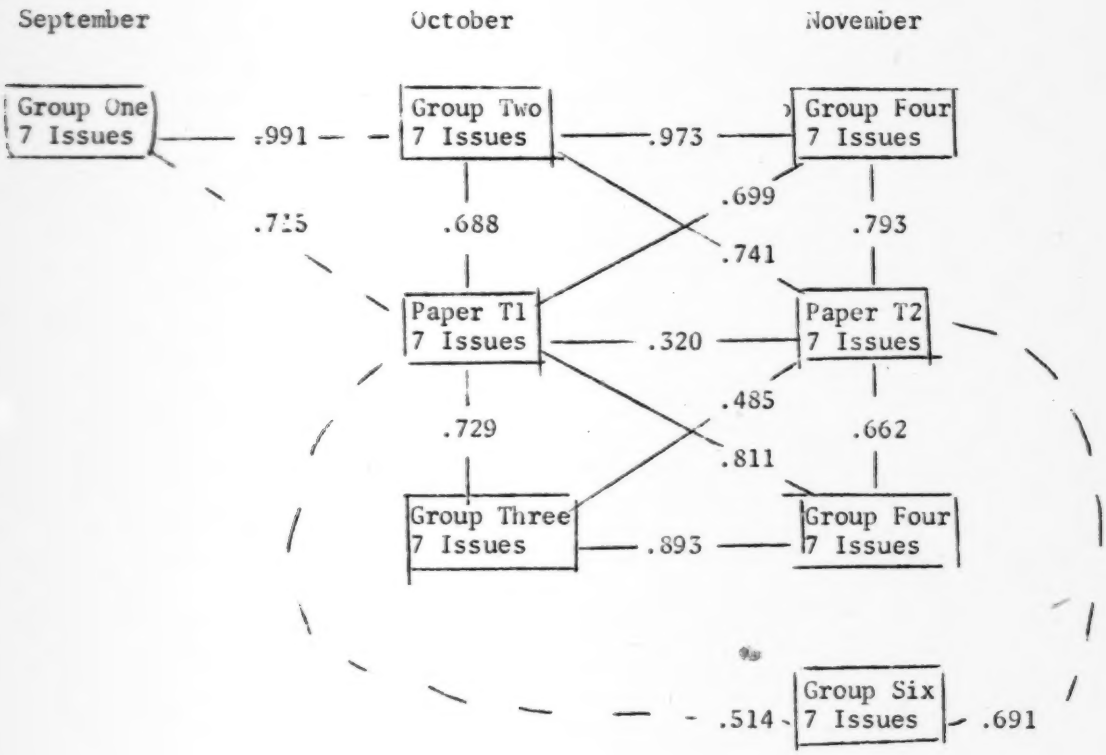

FIGURE 7

Correlations between newspaper coverage and "somewhat interested" respondents

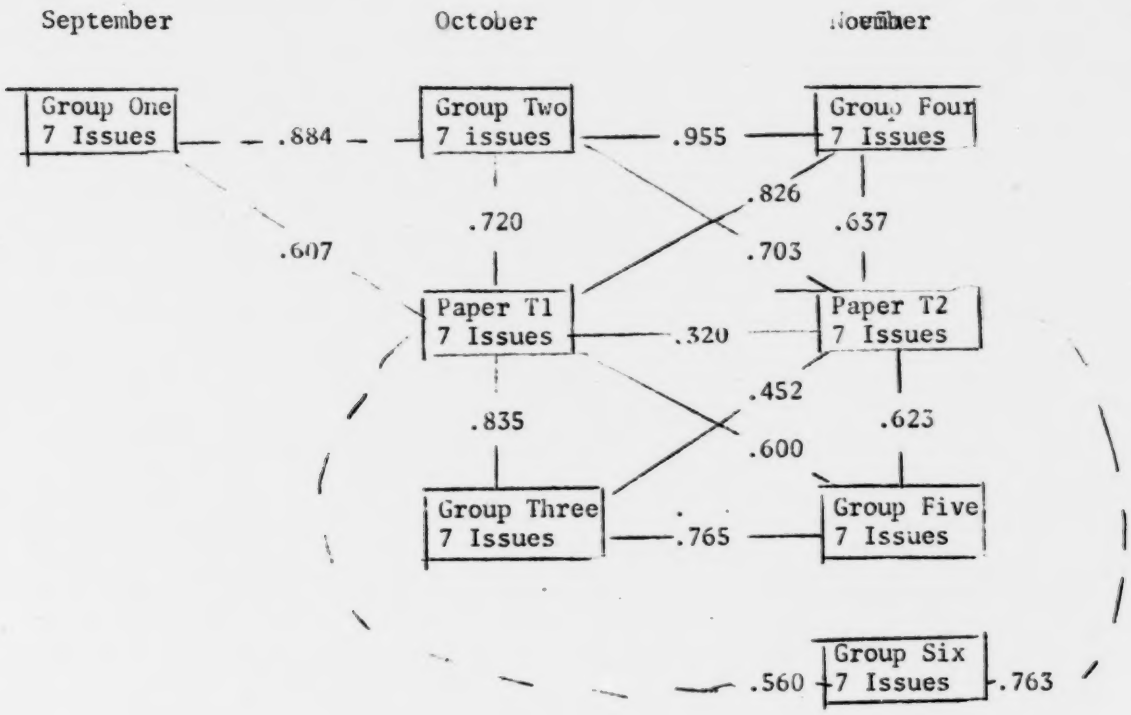

Figure 8

Correlations between newspaper coverage and "not very interested" respondents

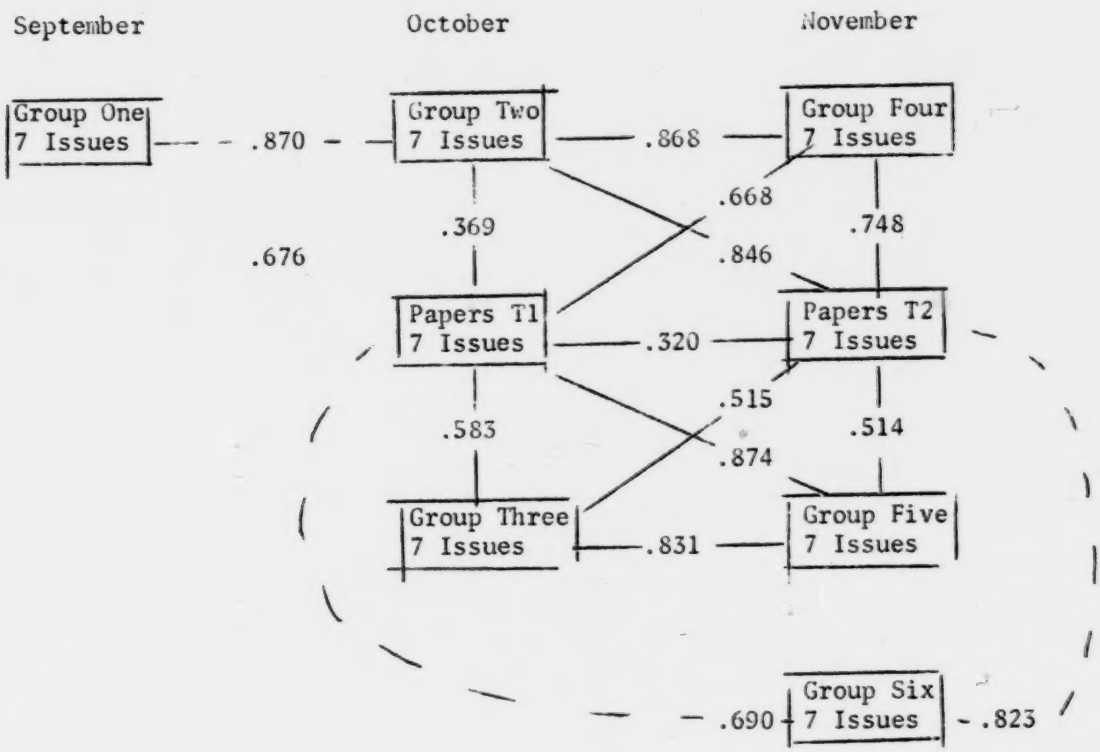

FIGURE 9

Correlations between newspaper coverage and respondents with high school education or less

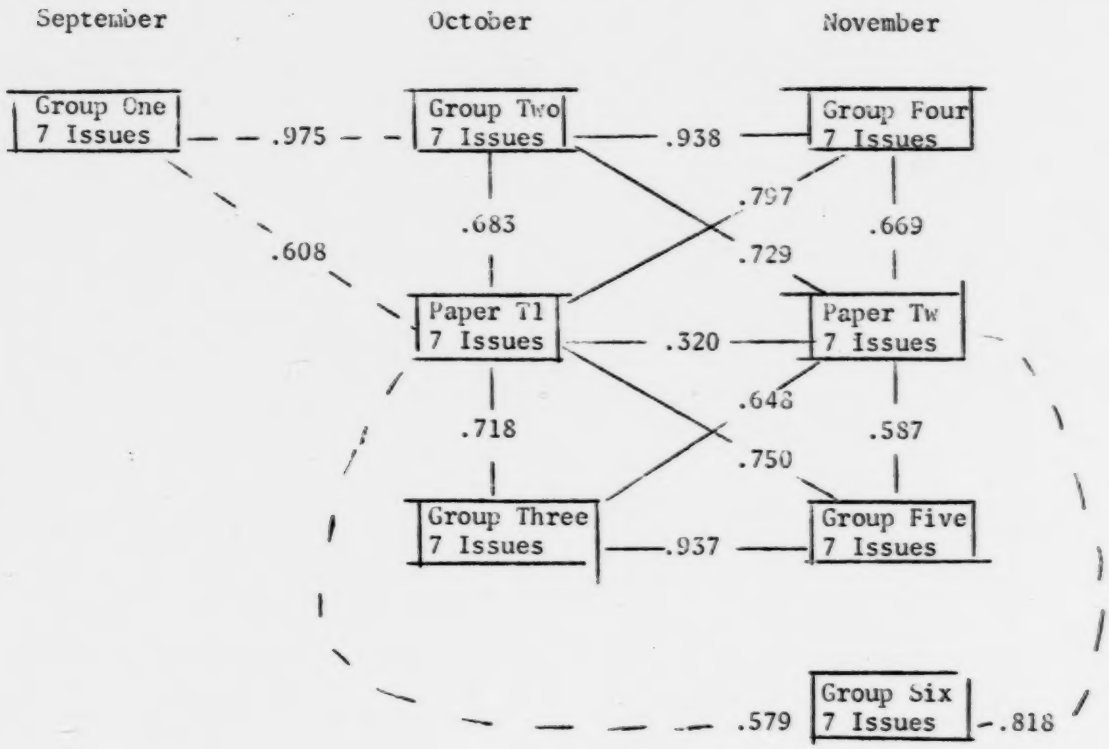

FIGURE 10

Correlations between newspaper coverage and respondents with some college education